



had locked himself and his haarer, Mark finished the speech, and laid down the paper. It was time—it was after eleven o'clock—late hours for country people, and far too late for the aged and infirm.

"Thank you, sir! Thank you. You have given me a treat! I am glad as if I had heard it in a dream!" said the old man, flushing with pride and pleasure. Soon after, he rang for night lamps, and a servant to show Mr. Sutherland to his room.

Early the next morning, Mark Sutherland arose and left his bed-room. The family were not yet stirring; none but the house servants were about. And with the restlessness of a heated man, he walked all over the room, to and from diversion from the bitter retrospections of the past, and giddy forebodings of the future, in the novel aspect of the country around him.

One used to the undulating, luxuriant beauty of Southern scenery, there was something startling and inspiring in the abrupt, stern, rugged, yet vigorous and productive aspect of the mountain region.

The Ashley plantation filled the whole of a small valley shut in between two curving spaces of the Alleghanies, and watered by a branch of the Rappahannock. The Ashley house, an irregular but massive building of red sandstone, was situated at the foot of the mountain; behind it arose rocky rocks, intersected by narrow paths, all overgrown with cedar; before it, at some distance, was a long branch; around on every side within the vale were gardens, shrubberies, orchards, wheat and corn-fields; and here and there, picturesquely placed, or half concealed by trees or jutting rocks, were the negro quarters; while more conspicuously, in the midst of the open fields, stood the barns and granaries. Altogether, the plantation extended over a wide valley, and completely shut in by mountains, was an independent, isolated, little domain in itself.

Now, upon the second day of March, the grass along the margin of the branch was already fresh and verdant, and the wheat-fields sprouting greenly. The morning was very bright and fresh, and Mark walked into the great hall, and took his place at the table. There he found three or four negroes, under the direction of the gardener, engaged in clearing up beds, tying vines, trimming trees, and repairing arbors and garden seats.

This place had not the luxuriant beauty of the South, nor the fresh and vigorous life of the West; yet there was a solid, old homeliness about it, that contrasted even in contrast to those other scenes. Mark felt this, while alternately talking with the old gardener, and contemplating the old home.

He was interrupted by an irruption of that Goth and Vandal, Henry and Richard Ashley, who, rushing upon him, seized the one his right hand and the other his left; and boisterously led him to the breakfast-table, ready, and had almost seated over him. Henry, with his voluminous greeting good-morrow, and accompanied them into the house, and to the breakfast-table, which was set in the old oak parlor where he had passed the preceding evening. Two ladies, in simple, graceful morning dresses of white cambric, sat near the fire, occupied with a little delicate needle-work; Col. Ashby had just come to town, and was seated with his paper in his hand, and talking to them about the speech. On seeing Mr. Sutherland, the old gentleman immediately stepped forward, welcomed him, and conducted him to the ladies, saying, "My dears, this is Mr. Sutherland; Mr. Sutherland, my—"

But before another syllable was spoken, the elder lady had patted her face, started up with a blush of pleasure, and extended her hand, exclaiming,

"Mark Sutherland! Is it possible?"

"Mrs. Vivian! Miss Rose?" exclaimed Mark, extending a hand to each, impulsively.

"Why, how strange we should meet here!" said Valeria.

"A most pleasant surprise, indeed," responded Mark.

"The surprise as well as the pleasure is mutual, I assure you! But how did it happen?"

"I am sure I do not know."

"Nor I. Can you guess, Rose?" and Mrs. Vivian turned to her step-daughter, who remained silent, with her fingers in the unconscious clasp of Mark Sutherland's hand.

"I inquired only in jest; but now I really do believe you could tell us something about this," said the lady, looking intently at the maid.

Rosalie's pale face slightly flushed, she withdrew her hand, resumed her seat, and took up her work. Colonel Ashley, if he felt, certainly expressed no surprise at this re-union; but as, with stately courtesy, he handed his niece to the head of the table, said, "As Mrs. Vivian is here, we will have no more talk of her going to rest from the fatigue of her journey, and as Mr. Sutherland reached here late last night, there has been no time for conversation about our arrangements."

"Ah, yes; that's all very well; but not at the bottom of this, somehow!" laughed the widow, shaking her jetty hair as she seated herself. Her eyes met those of Rosalie for an instant, and the spirit of mischief was quelled. She became silent on that topic, and soon after changed the subject, entering into gay conversation about St. Gerald Ashley and his sudden fame.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

#### FREE DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

A Convention of Delegates of the Free Democrats of the State of Pennsylvania, being favorable to the declaration of principles and measures adopted by the National Convention held at Pittsburgh in 1852, to consist of such men as may be appointed by the Convention, and the other delegates to be held at HARRISBURG, Wednesday, the first day of June next, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the general election, for the offices of Auditor, Comptroller, Surveyor of General, and Canal Commissioner of Pennsylvania, General, and GEO. R. RIDDLER of Allegheny, Chairman.

G. D. CLEVELAND, of Philadelphia, James ROBERTS of Pittsburgh, MORMAL M. McGINNITY, of Dauphin, P. J. COOPER, of Philadelphia, THOMAS L. KANE, of Philadelphia.

State Central Committee.

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NOVEMBER 8, 1852.

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LEWIS OLEPHANE, Office National Era.

#### WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, APRIL 14, 1853.

#### TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

We have been repeatedly solicited to issue a monthly, for gratuitous distribution by clubs and individuals interested in the spread of Free Democratic Principles. The time has come for undertaking such a work. If we intend to obtain the control of the Government, we must get the people on our side; but we cannot do this without convincing them that we are right. What they need is, Light, and this we intend to give in our FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE. The brief reports it has published on our responsibility, the proceedings and conduct of the Senate, and to pay it seven dollars a column to publish all the Bumcombe speeches delivered by Senators during the last winter, is of course a newspaper; or take the place of any Free Soil newspaper; it will not be furnished even to single subscribers. The object is two-fold—to supply a document, monthly, of facts and arguments, suitable for reference, and calculated to make converts to the cause of Free Democracy. And, as we consider the support of the State or local Anti-Slavery paper vital, we shall keep standing, in each number, their titles, places of publication, terms, &c., so that new adherents to the Party may know where to supply themselves regularly with newspapers of kindred principles.

Every individual has his field of labor—every club has its town, district, or county. They will be glad to secure a document, every month, to circulate among those disposed to inquire into the principles and policy of the Free Democratic movement. We ask their aid in obtaining a hundred thousand readers for the "FACTS for the People."

#### PROSPECTUS OF FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

On the 1st of June next, we shall commence the publication of FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE, a monthly, designed for preservation as a document for reference, or for general circulation, of the Senate shall be public and open, except when matters communicated in confidence by the President shall be received and considered, and in such other cases as the Senate by resolution from time to time shall especially order; and so much of the 38th, 39th, and 40th rules as may be inconsistent with this rule is hereby rescinded.

The resolution was supported by Messrs. Chase, Borland, and Summer. The majority, as might be expected, is against it, so many things can be done and said in secret session that would not seem fit in open session. But the time will come, when some such resolution will pass. One effect of the practice of secret sessions is, that distorted reports of what is really done by the Senate are constantly finding their way into the newspapers, and misleading the Public; and another effect is, that some members appear in the public report themselves, while the live men may not be heard at all, because they feel bound to observe the rule of secrecy. Notice the correspondence of the Baltimore Sun, New York Tribune, New York Herald, and a few other papers, and you will always see certain Senators' names figuring largely in connection with something that has transpired in secret session.

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The Administration Party is carrying the day in the local elections generally. This may be due to the fact that the offices have been filled, and the Administration fairly launched. In the municipal election in New Orleans, the Pierces have elected all the Aldermen, and all the Assistant Aldermen but two. In Connecticut, they have swept the State, electing all their officers and all their Congressmen, and majorities in both branches of the Legislature. The Temperance question entered into the State election, and a large majority of representatives, it is stated, has been returned in favor of a Free Democratic ticket for State officers and Congress.

It will be furnished at the following rates by the year, twelve numbers constituting a volume:

6 copies for \$1.00  
20 copies for 3.00  
100 copies for 12.00

Any person or club may, in this way, by paying \$12, supply Anti-Slavery reading every month, for a whole year, to one hundred readers.

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## THE NATIONAL ERA, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 14, 1853.

## THE NEBRASKA TERRITORIAL BILL.

between the western boundaries of Iowa and Missouri, and the eastern boundaries of Utah and Oregon, north of 36 deg. 30 min. north latitude, is a vast extent of territory, through which pass the great routes from Missouri to New Mexico, Utah, California, and Oregon. A portion of it, immediately on the border of Missouri, is occupied by Indians, removed from the limits of the States, and secured in their territorial rights by solemn treaty. The rest of the territory is inhabited by a few white settlers, whose numbers would be soon reinforced, were a Territorial Government established, and the lands brought into market. As the tide of population is sweeping onward towards the Rocky Mountains, it will be long before all obstacles, and we shall see settlements springing up along the emigrant routes. In view of this state of things, of the increasing immigration from abroad, of the necessity of providing for the safety of emigrants from the States to our Pacific territories, and of binding together in indissoluble bonds the new States of the Pacific and the old States of the Atlantic, it is the duty of the Government to bring this wilderness into subjection to the rule of civilization. Fortunately, the whole of it lies north of the Missouri Compromise line, 36 deg. 30 min., and is guarded by positive statute against the introduction of slavery. That Compromise, which has been held binding by the South, and has been uniformly recognized as constitutional, expressly excluded slavery from the territory of Louisiana north of that line. It is now as positive and effectual as any statute can be. It is a conclusive Wilmot Proviso; and if any slaves are held in the territory, they are in violation of law.

Eight years ago, Mr. Douglas, in the House of Representatives, at the second session of the Twenty-eighth Congress, introduced a bill for the organization of a Territorial Government, styling the Territory Nebraska. It was referred to the Committee on Territories, which reported it with amendments, January 7, 1845; but it was never taken up for consideration. At the first session of the Thirty-second Congress, March 18, 1848, Mr. Douglass, being a member of the Senate, introduced a similar bill in that body. It was referred to the Territorial Committee, reported by it, without amendment, April 20, 1848, recommended at the next session to the same committee, but never reported.

Meantime, the Wilmot-Proviso agitation had sprung up; the South had arrayed itself as a shield in support of Slavery. The Compromises were the result, and Northern politicians with Presidential aspirations did not care to signalize themselves by any act which might be deemed exceptions by the Slave Power. Mr. Douglass seemed to have lost sight of his once favorite measure. The Thirty-first Congress, and the first session of the Thirty-second Congress, went by, and not a word was heard of Nebraska.

The few senators there, finding they must act for themselves, appointed Mr. Abelard Guthrie a delegate, to submit to Congress a memorial praying for a Territorial Government. On his way to Washington, he says, he fell in with Senators Atchison and Geyer, of Missouri, and knowing the deep interest taken by the People of that State in the organization of Nebraska, he fully expected to find them prepared to sustain the movement; but he was bitterly disappointed. They both strongly opposed the measure, and Mr. Atchison told him that it was folly to persist in it. He was received, however, that Col. Benton was in Washington, and took courage. On arriving here, he consulted with the Colonel, who encouraged him under-taking, and who was, in fact, from beginning to end, the soul of the enterprise. Southern men, desirous to avoid a recognition of the Missouri Compromise line, proposed their support, if he would consent to bound the new territory on the south by the thirty-ninth degree of north latitude. Taking the advice of the veteran Missourian, he stood firmly by 36 deg. 30 min.; and at last the Committee on Territories in the House reported a bill for the organization of the Territorial Government of Nebraska, with the original boundaries, which was passed February 10, 1853. There was a protracted debate upon it, turning ostensibly upon the effect of the bill upon the rights of the Indians. The opposition came from the slaveholding members, and a few Hunkers at the North; and the real ground of it was, that Nebraska would be a free Territory, and become the nursery of free States. The bill was passed by a vote of 98 to 43. The negative vote was given by ultra slaveholders, chiefly, a few Northern Hunkers, two or three members jealous of the growth of the West, and two or three others deceived by the clamor about the rights of the Indians. It was as follows:

"Provided, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to impair the rights of persons now, or hereafter, to be admitted into the said Territory, but such rights shall remain unimpaired by treaty or compact with any nation, or to include any territory which by treaty or compact with any nation, or to the extent of the same, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the United States to be included within the said Territory of Nebraska; or to affect the authority of the Government of the United States to make any regulation respecting said Indians, their land, property, or other rights, by treaty, law, or otherwise, which it would be competent for the Government to make if this act had never passed."

The guarantee of the treaties is, that these shall not be embraced within the limits of a State or Territory, so as to come under its jurisdiction, and be subject to its authority; and the bill by this proviso, is brought into entire harmony with it.

Mr. Douglass spoke forcibly in support of the measure, but dropped a remark suggestive of a compromise.

"But, sir, the Senators have said that I might as well urge a Territorial Government should be formed west of the Arkansas. Sir, it may be necessary to do it. I am by no means certain that it shall not be found acting in concert with the known supporters of the Territory of Nebraska, until such time as they shall signify their assent to the President of the United States to be included within the said Territory of Nebraska; or to affect the authority of the Government of the United States to make any regulation respecting said Indians, their land, property, or other rights, by treaty, law, or otherwise, which it would be competent for the Government to make if this act had never passed."

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Atchison and Geyer are the only slaveholding members that voted against the motion—and they were constrained to do so by the political sentiment of their State. Davis of Massachusetts, Phelps of Vermont, Fish of New York, Smith of Connecticut, and Brothman of Pennsylvania, acting, we apprehend, from jealousy of the West, were the only members from free States on the same side. The motion was a Pro-Slavery motion, and was maintained by the slaveholding Interest. Messrs. Hale, Chase, Sumner, and Seward, would of course have voted in the negative, had they been present. These Senators, if we mistake not, during the last hours of the session, were engaged in some of the committee rooms, on Senate business.

Mr. Atchison, explaining his opposition to the bill in the earlier part of the session, and the cause of his action, said—

"I had no objection to the bill. One was, that the Indian title in that territory had not been extinguished, or at least a very small portion of it had been; another was, the Missouri Compromise, or it is commonly called, the slavery restriction.

It was my opinion at that time—

"—that the law of Congress, when the State of Missouri was admitted into the Union, excluded the territory of the Union from the Missouri Compromise, and that the Missouri Compromise, as it was commonly called, was a positive restriction.

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## WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

## LETTERS ON FRANCE.—NO. 4.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June, 1852.

MY DEAR MADAM.—I now wish to say a word to you, that all the revolts come from the middle and upper classes of society; and, secondly, that the masses look only to the material consequences of acts—judging government by that unerring experience which reaches the cottage of every poor man.

The great Revolution of 1789 arose from the intellectual and moral progress of the middle and upper classes. I would be distinctly understood, as saying, "great progress;" for the very corruption of the time, and "the infidelity," as it was called, was in fact a protestation of human intelligence, against the mockeries of the "faithful" of that day. It was simply "infidelity" to "infidelity," in forms, morals, and bigotry. It was the reverberation of the Protestant Reformation, in which the people of France had been taught to hate, but which was inevitable, their protestations assumed the ugly and ridiculous form of reviling in these days, and jumbling up law, as in religion, there is so much irreconcileable mystification.

In the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848, it was remarked that the principles prevalent among the people were of a higher tone. The ancients were no more talked of; Christ was the great name; for example, and man law and order, the controlling sentiment, until distress and irritation were created by the bad conduct of the other classes.

Each of these revolutions the people did the active work, the fighting; sacrificed themselves, and their material prospects for the moment, to advance the great cause of Liberty. But they did not and could never have fought, with the other classes provided them with arms for the purpose, and countenanced and led them on.

They are now again disarmed, and all the plotting and conspiring in the world will not advance them one iota. Some fanatic may attempt to assassinate the tyrant; yet another will jump in his place; and the great Frenchmen will be much occupied in gaining time. The intrigues of the fanatical, let us observe here, moreover, that many of the plots denounced by the police and Government are got up by secret agents, in order to implicate (against their will frequently) men who are feared or account of their liberal views and moral influence over their fellow-men.

Both the police and corrupt secret-agents, seeking to recommend themselves to their chief, shameful instances of persecution occasionally take place. Sometimes these acts are the consequence of orders to use all means to remove hindrance and influential individuals.

In the second place, we will begin by remarking that the French are great talkers, and those among them who cannot read, may pick up a vast amount of information through the conventional organs of the language. The truth is, that this is hardly a subject upon which a Frenchman of the lower class, however illiterate, cannot converse. Living upon light and more wholesome food and drink than some of their neighbors, they have greater animal spirits, and more liveliness of mind and imagination, and a keener perception of things.

The French mind is not only quick and perceptive, but profound, and singularly mathematical and calculating. There are strong resemblances between them and the Scotch people.

France could not have gone through so many changes of an exciting character, for sixty years past—changes affecting the social position and moral condition of every individual—without calling into action the most sluggish minds. Nothing tends so surely to sharpen the wits and enlighten the judgment, as the possession of property, and the necessity of taking care of it. It is all very well for the other classes to feel a jealousy for *present* proprietors, and a dislike of their independence; but it is not less certain, that pose as are the means of education, in order to fit them for the right to their little holdings with considerable tact, as well as tenacity.

In one sense, property gives intelligence; while, on the other hand, slavery as surely stifles the mind. In no country is that clearer than in Europe.

If anything more than another tended to give superiority to the armies of the Empire, it was the moral effect of that independence which the division of the land produced among Frenchmen. Compared to the serfs and boors of the country, they had become another class of men.

France has nevertheless labored under considerable difficulties, owing to the existence of restrictions not consistent with the new state of things. The oppressive mortgage system grew up: the same system of taxation, and the same tax on land—taxation for all sorts of purposes was extraordinarily heavy; duties were levied upon produce on entering towns; roads were infamous, and communication difficult, so that it was hard for a small proprietor to keep himself from ruin.

Within ten or fifteen years many improvements for intercommunication have been made, and great benefits have been the result; but that liberty of action has not been attained which the industrious man knows to be necessary to give him the full scope of his powers. Poverty still weighs like an incubus on the man.

Now, the moral effect of a division of property—the destruction of feudal rights over men and land—has been to create a great republican nation. All the influence of the priesthood has changed the primitive teachings of faith, and the moral condition of France. La Vendée, the former hot-bed of royalty, is no less altered in its opinions than the aristocracy itself, by the insensible action of modern liberalism. If, then, you would destroy the love of liberty and democratic ideas, it would be necessary to carry out the schemes broached at the time of the revolution of 1789.

The love of military glory is fast taking a secondary place in the minds of men. This is the result of the same circumstances. The assertion that Republics are of an aggressive character is no more true than to assert that old Governments were not aggressive. Unquestionably, if the conditions of property are unequal and unfair, there will be found, under any form of government, a vast multitude unemployed, who will create work of some sort, or who will make themselves a position or other in their country.

France is now not merely a great military and naval power—not merely at the head of the arts, of the sciences, and of the fashions—but is becoming a great manufacturing and industrial nation. Best improvements are making in agriculture, by aid of societies established over the country, giving information, and giving encouragement and example; and commerce wants but the blessing of Free Trade, to be developed as it should be.

I am unwilling to close these remarks on the condition of France, and the causes of its conduct at the present moment, without noticing some of the accusations which book-making travellers bring against her.

Authors in general baffle about old stories, and re-open the sores of national prejudices. There is, perhaps, no better mode of meeting them, than to expose them—especially in the countries where they are deepest. In business transactions they are universally taken in. No faith can be put in any one. Superior knowledge on the part of the stranger, and ignorance on that of the French, is the story. So between foreign merchants—they each other to administration, and each in their country has all the advantage. He who may be sharp at home, is often in *keenness* a mere child abroad;

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